

JERRY LEWIS,
BILL YOUNG,
JOE SKEEN,
DAVE HOBSON,
HENRY BONILLA,
GEORGE R. NETHERCUTT,
Jr.,
RANDY "DUKE"
CUNNINGHAM,
RODNEY P.
FRELINGHUYSEN,
TODD TIAHRT,
JOHN P. MURTHA,
NORMAN D. DICKS,
MARTIN OLAV SABO,
PETER J. VISCLOSKEY,
JAMES P. MORAN,
DAVE R. OBEY

(Except for sec. 8149
relating to corporate
expatriates).

Managers on the Part of the House.

DANIEL K. INOUE,
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,
ROBERT C. BYRD,
PATRICK J. LEAHY,
TOM HARKIN,
BYRON L. DORGAN,
RICHARD J. DURBIN,
HARRY REID,
DIANNE FEINSTEIN,
HERB KOHL,
TED STEVENS,
THAD COCHRAN,
ARLEN SPECTER,
PETE V. DOMENICI,
CHRISTOPHER S. BOND,
MITCH MCCONNELL,
RICHARD C. SHELBY,
JUDD GREGG,
KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION OF 2002

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, any nation engaged in a program of building weapons of mass destruction presents a danger to international peace and stability. Any leader who flouts the rule of law is a menace to liberty and democracy.

In my mind, the President has made a strong case that Iraq must disarm, pursuant to the United Nations resolutions enacted following the close of the Persian Gulf War. But the President did not convince me that we should go to war and go it alone, nor has he made the case that we should change our longstanding policy and defy international law and commit to a first strike.

The threat posed by Iraq is a threat which confronts the entire world, not just America. This resolution before us gives the President authorization to send American troops into Iraq to strike unilaterally and, indeed, to strike first. Congress has never before granted this extraordinary power to any previous President. We can address the threat posed by Saddam Hussein without expanding Presidential authority beyond constitutional standards.

A declaration of war is the ultimate act of humankind. It presumes to endow the declarant with the right to kill. In many instances, it amounts to a sentence of death, not just for the guilty but for the innocent as well, whether civilian or soldier. In measurable respects, that is why the Framers of our Constitution wisely assigned the power to commit America to war not to the President but to the people's democratic representatives in Congress.

The President should approach Congress and ask for a declaration of war when and only when he determines that war is unavoidable. The resolution before us leaves the question of war open-ended by both expressing support for diplomacy and authorizing the President to use force when he feels it is the correct course of action. Yet, in his own words, President Bush stated that "war is not unavoidable." So why, then, is he insisting on being given now, today, the power to go to war?

We are the lone superpower economically and militarily in the world. Our words have meaning, our actions have consequences beyond what we can see.

The implications of a unilateral first strike authorization for war are chilling. A unilateral attack could lead the world into another dangerous era of polarization and create worldwide instability. It would also set a dangerous precedent that could have a devastating impact on international norms.

Consider India and Pakistan, Armenia and Azerbaijan, Russia and Chechnya, Cyprus, Taiwan, Colombia, Northern Ireland, Central Africa. How might the people or the government in any of these countries which are engaged in or at the brink of hostilities interpret this resolution today? Why should not other countries adopt the President's unilateral and first strike policy to address conflicts or threats themselves? Would not a unilateral attack galvanize other potential enemies around the globe to strike at the United States and our interests?

In our efforts to focus on what the President described as a grave and gathering danger thousands of miles away in Iraq, let us not lose sight of the dangers which are grave and present, not gathering but present, here at home: the al Qaeda plots targeting our airports, our water treatment facilities, our nuclear power plants, our agricultural crops.

Just this Tuesday, CIA director George Tenet told Congress that Saddam Hussein, if provoked by fears that an attack by the United States was imminent, might help Islamic extremists launch an attack on the United States with weapons of mass destruction. We must consider how our actions may impact on the safety of the American people. The answer may not be always what we expect.

We must also ask, will the death and destruction it takes to eliminate a sovereign, albeit rogue government, lead

to good will by the Iraqi people toward America and Americans?

Well, let us look at the record. During the Gulf War of 1999, we dropped some 250,000 bombs, many of them smart bombs, over a 6-week period on Iraqi forces. That is close to 6,000 bombs per day. We deployed over 500,000 troops. The war cost over \$80 billion. None of that money was spent on reconstruction in Kuwait, and all of this is what it took simply to expel Iraq from tiny Kuwait.

And what is our, and for that matter the world's, recent record on supporting post-war reconstruction? Ask the people of Bosnia and of Kosovo, and now ask the Afghans.

Certainly there are situations where the United States must prepare or be prepared to act alone. I voted in September, 2001, to give the President that power to punish those who attacked this Nation on September 11. But the question is, are we at the point on the question of Iraq to go to war without international support?

Mr. Speaker, the President was clear in his speech on Monday. Iraq can lead us down a dangerous course, but I believe it is time for us to recognize that if we do this, we do this together, not alone.

Let us vote for the separate resolution, go the right way and send a good message, not just to Iraq but to the rest of the world.

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in order to have the dialogue stay focused, I think we need to periodically look at the threat.

We have no doubt in this body. Speakers on both sides of the aisle have repeated the need to deal with someone who has used mustard gas and other agents against his own people. There is no question in this body about the war crimes committed by this dictator.

But when we talk about the threat not being imminent, I just want to read from an unclassified document something for us all to focus on as we again talk about do we or do we not empower the President to deal with all the cards in his hand, not missing the one of potential military action.

"Mustard gas, potential agents based on best estimates, 200 metric tons; sarin gas, 200 metric tons; VX, up to 200 metric tons; and anthrax, at least 8,500 liters. That is 2,245 gallons, but it could be as much as 10-fold that, 22,457 gallons of anthrax.

We all know in this body all too well what an almost infinitesimal amount in an envelope can do. I hope that we will think about this as we talk about whether or not to empower the President to have all the full force of our military at his disposal in negotiations.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO), a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce.